

Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī and His *Samples of the Sciences*

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Abstract

Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī (d. 979/1572) was a scientist and philosopher of Shiraz in the 16th century who was active as a scholar first in India and then in the Ottoman land. He was a prolific author who wrote works in various fields. Some of his works on rational sciences, which was his main subjects of interests, became textbooks in the Ottoman curriculum. His *Samples of the Sciences* (*Unmūdhaj al-ʿulūm*), which was written while he resided in Istanbul and dedicated to the grand vizier Rustam Pāshā (d. 968/1561), demonstrates his intellectual chalanges in twenty-one different desciplines.

Keywords

Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī – Ottoman thought – Ottoman science – Ottoman patronage – multi-science work

The two most eminent philosophers of Shiraz in the late ninth/fifteenth century, Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī (d. 908/1502) and Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Dashtakī (d. 903/

* I would like to thank Ihsan Fazlioglu who kindly shared with me the images of the copies of Lārī's *Unmūdhaj al-ʿulūm*. I have also benefited from his knowledge of Ottoman intellectual history. I am also grateful to Sabine Schmidtke, Hasan Ansari, Alexander Kalbarczyk and Colin Mitchell for reading and commenting on the first draft of this article. My gratitude also goes to the anonymous reviewer who rightly pointed to some unclear passages of the text. This publication was prepared within the framework of the Reinhart-Koselleck-project "Greek Philosophy in the Islamic East: a 17th Century Renaissance," funded by the Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft (DFG). Reza Pourjavady, Institut für Islamwissenschaft, Freie Universität Berlin, D-14195 Berlin, Germany, reza.pourjavady@fu-berlin.de

1498), drew the attention of their Ottoman counterparts within their lifetime. They both enjoyed the patronage of the Ottoman court during the reign of Sultan Bayezid II (r. 886/1481–918/1512). Dawānī dedicated three of his works to the Sultan, namely his *Sharḥ al-Rubāʿiyāt*, his first *Risāla fī ithbāt al-wājib* and his second gloss on ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Qūshchī's (d. 879/1474) commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's (d. 672/1274) *Tajrīd al-i'tiqād*.¹ Dashtakī also dedicated one of his most distinguished works, namely his first gloss on Qūshchī's commentary on *Tajrīd al-i'tiqād*, to Bayezid II.² The first to mediate between these two scholars and the court of Sultan Bayezid II was a close friend of the Sultan back in his youth, Muʾayyadzāde ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Efendi (d. 922/1516). During four years of study in Shiraz (from 884/1479 to 888/1479), Muʾayyadzāde became acquainted with both these two scholars, particularly Dawānī with whom he studied. Upon his departure, Dawānī provided him with a certificate (*ijāza*) and Dashtakī asked Muʾayyadzāde to pass a copy of his aforementioned gloss to its dedicatee, Bayezid.³ Muʾayyadzāde played a significant role in promoting the thought of these two philosophers in Istanbul. But beside him, there were at least two other native Ottoman scholars who were educated in Shiraz and taught the works of the Shirazi scholars after returning to Istanbul: Katkhudāzāde Girmiyānī (d. c. 940/1533–4) and Sinān al-Dīn Yūsuf al-Āydīnī (d. c. 935/1528–9).⁴ Moreover, in the early Safavid era, two outstanding students of Dawānī, Muẓaffar al-Dīn ʿAlī al-Shīrāzī (d. 922/1516) and Ḥakīm Shāh Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. after 926/1520), fled to Istanbul. With Muʾayyadzāde's recommendation, they were treated generously by the court and found teaching positions in Istanbul.⁵

Ottoman scholars of the time seem to have received the contributions of these two Shirazi scholars in metaphysics more than any other subject. Kamāl

1 In acknowledgement for having written *Risāla fī ithbāt al-wājib al-qadīma*, Dawānī received a letter from Bāyazīd II together with five hundred *flori* (gold coins). See Reza Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran: Najm al-Dīn Maḥmūd al-Nayrīzī and his Writings*, Leiden: Brill, 2011, 11–12.

2 See Šadr al-Dīn al-Dashtakī, *Ḥāshiya ʿalā sharḥ Tajrīd al-i'tiqād*, MS Fatih 3025, f. 2a.

3 See Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 11, 19.

4 ʿIṣām al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muṣṭafā Ṭāshkuprīzāde, *Al-Shaqāʾiq al-nuʾmāniya fī ʿulamāʾ al-dawlat al-ʿUthmāniya*, ed. Aḥmad Subḥī Furāt, Istanbul: İstanbul Üniversitesi Şarkiyat Araştırma Merkezi, 1405/1985, 472, 469–70. Ṭāshkuprīzāde specifies that Āydīnī taught Dawānī's *Risāla Ithbāt al-wājib* in Istanbul. Dawānī wrote two works with this title and Āydīnī was more likely teaching the first one, known as *Risāla qadīma*, composed in 897/1491 and dedicated to Sultan Bayezid II. Cf. Harun Anay, *Celāleddin Devvānī hayatı. eserleri. ahlāk ve siyaset*, PhD Dissertation, Istanbul University, 1994, 101–2.

5 See Ṭāshkuprīzāde, *al-Shaqāʾiq al-nuʾmāniya*, 330–1. Anay, Harun: *Celāleddin Devvānī hayatı*, 100–1.

Pāshāzāde Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn Efendi (d. 940/1533) commented upon the positions of Dawānī and Dashtakī in his works on this subject, such as his treatise on the existence (*Risāla fi l-wujūd*),⁶ his treatise on mental existence (*Risāla fi bayān wujūd al-dhihnī*),⁷ and his another treatise on the meaning of the act of creation (*al-jaʿl*) and proof for the createdness of the quiddity (*Risāla fi bayān maʿnā al-jaʿl wa-taḥqīq fi anna l-naḥs al-māhīya majʿūlatun*).⁸ A younger contemporary of Kamāl Pāshāzāde, Ṭāshkubrūzāde Aḥmad Efendi (d. 968/1561) also dealt with the metaphysical positions of the two Shirazi scholars in his philosophical works. This can be traced, for instance, in the latter's treatise on divisions of the causes (*al-Nahal wa-l-ʿalal fi taḥqīq aqsām al-ʿilal*),⁹ his treatise on mental existence (*al-Shuhūd al-ʿaynī fi l-wujūd al-dhihnī*),¹⁰ and his supergloss on al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī's gloss on Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī's commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's *Tajrid al-iʿtiqād*.¹¹

Despite the fact that the works of Dawānī and Dashtakī were known to the scholars of the Ottoman lands, little seems to have been known by them about the development of the generation of Shirazi scholars after these two philosophers. The contributions of scholars such as Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Dashtakī's son, Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Dashtakī (d. 949/1542), Shams al-Dīn al-Khafri (d. 942/1535–6), Najm al-Dīn al-Nayrīzī (d. after 943/1536), and Kamāl al-Dīn al-Ilāhī al-Ardabīlī (d. 955/1548–9) were not received by their Ottoman counterparts for decades. This lack of knowledge seems to have been greatly overcome by the efforts of Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ṣalāḥ al-Lārī (d. 979/1572), who moved to the Ottoman lands and exposed the Ottoman scholars to the most recent intellectual developments in Shiraz.

Born around 900/1494 in Lār,¹² a small city to the south of Shiraz, the young Muḥammad al-Lārī moved to Shiraz to complete his education. His most notable teachers were Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Dashtakī and Shams al-Dīn al-Khafri. He

6 See MS Kütaḥya-Vahit Paşa 469, ff. 45b–56a.

7 See MS Kütaḥya-Vahit Paşa 469, ff. 82b–93b.

8 See MS Kütaḥya-Vahit Paşa 469, ff. 94b–124b.

9 See MS Sprenger 1823 (held in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin), ff. 56b–83a.

10 See MS Sprenger 1823 (held in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin), ff. 84b–119a.

11 See ʿAlī Ṣadrāyī Khūyī, *Kitāb-shināsī-i Tajrid al-iʿtiqād, Qum: Kitāb-khāna-yi Buzurg-i Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-Uṣmā Marʿashī-i Najafī*, 1424/2003, 51–2.

12 In his *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, Aḥmad Qummī estimated Lārī's age at death (979/1572) to be approximately ninety years. See Aḥmad Qummī, *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, vol. 1, ed. Iḥsān Ishrāqī, Tehran 1359/1980–1, 580. However, it is hard to believe that he was so aged, particularly since we know that he travelled to Baghdad in the last decade of his life. Yet this estimation should not be rejected as groundless, since Qummī met Lārī in 974/1566–67, five years before the latter's death. See Qummī, *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, vol. 1, 580.

then left Iran in his early career and never returned. The specific reason for his migration is not clear, but in one of his writings Lārī explains that Shah Ṭahmāsp I's (r. 929/1524 to 984/1576) hostility towards Sunnī scholars was the reason why so many Iran-based scholars decided to emigrate:¹³

He [= Shah Ṭahmāsp I] has a strong tendency to eliminate Sunni scholars, or hurt them, or attribute wrong and immoral things to them. He enjoys good fortune in this world and it so happens that he has a stable state. [...] He claims that he patronizes scholars and supports them. But foolish people are presented to him as scholars and scholars are introduced to him as fools. It is for this reason that the greater part of his territory is without scientists and scholars but full of foolish people. Only a few true scholars have remained in the entire land of Iran.¹⁴

What Lārī reveals in the above passage on the discrimination of Sunnī scholars during the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp I conforms to the account of Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharīfī (d. 995/1587) in his *Nawāqid li-bunyān al-rawāfiḍ*. The latter points to a number of royal policies at this time meant to pressure the Sunnī population, including scholars, to accept Twelver Shī'ism.¹⁵ Therefore, it seems to be safe to assume that such religious intolerance was one of the reasons, if not the only one, for Lārī to leave Safavid Iran.

At first, Lārī went to India and probably spent more than a decade there. He first enjoyed the patronage of Shah Ḥasan Arghūn (r. 930/1524–963/1556) in the province of Sind.¹⁶ Eventually he was able to insinuate himself into the court of the Mughal Humāyūn Shah (r. 937/1531–963/1556).¹⁷ Subsequently he was appointed by the Shah as *ṣadr* (head of the religious administration). During

13 According to H. Sohrweide, whose source has not been identified by the present author, it is transmitted that Lārī's father openly confronted the Shī'īs. See H. Sohrweide, "al-Lārī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, eds P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs, Vol. v, 1986, 682.

14 Muşliḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad Lārī and 'Arif Nawshāhī (editor), "Mir'āt al-adwār wa-mirqāt al-akhbār: Faṣḥī dar sharḥ-i ḥāl-i buzurgān-i Khurāsān u Mā-warā' al-nahr u Fārs," *Ma'ārif*, 13 iii (Isfand 1375/March 1997), 91–113, esp. 109.

15 On Mīrzā Makhdūm Sharīfī's account of the discrimination against Sunnīs during the reign of Shah Ṭahmāsp, see Rosemary Stanfield Johnson, "Sunni Survival in Safavid Iran; Anti-Sunni Activities during the Reign of Tahmasp I," *Iranian Studies*, 27 1–4 (1994), 123–133.

16 Muḥammad Ma'şūm Bakkārī, *Tārīkh-i Sind: Ma'rūf bih Tārīkh-i Ma'şūmī*, ed. 'Umar b. Muḥammad Dāwūd Pūtah, Tehran: Asāṭīr, 1382/2003, 204.

17 See Muşliḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad Lārī, *Sharḥ-i Risāla dar hay'a*, MS Râgip 926, ff. 1b–62a, particularly f. 62a.

the years that he worked there, he composed his commentary on 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Qūshchī's (d. 879/1474) *Risāla dar hay'a*, which he dedicated to the sultan. Following Humāyūn's death on 11 Rabī' 11 963/22 February 1556, Lārī left India, and after making the pilgrimage and some months stay in Aleppo, he moved on to Istanbul.¹⁸ The period of his stay in Istanbul must have fallen sometime between 964/1556 and 967/1559–60. As we shall see later, Lārī was then patronized by the Grand Vizier, Rustam Pāshā (d. 968/1561). He joined the local intellectual circle, even to the point of engaging in debates with the chief muftī (*Shaykh al-Islām*) of Istanbul, Abū al-Su'ūd Efendi (d. 982/1574). The subjects covered in these debates were said to include the latter's *al-Qaṣīda al-Mīmīya*. Lārī's stipend in Istanbul was fifty *dirhams* (or *achches*) per month. Considering the fact that some scholars of the time received far more than this amount, this might indicate that he was not recognized by the authorities as one of the most distinguished of his profession.¹⁹ Perhaps this was the reason why Lārī did not remain in Istanbul either. In 967/1559–60, he moved next to Āmid (Diyarbakir), where he was well patronized by the regional governor, Beylerbeyi Iskandar Pāshā (d. 978/1571), and taught the latter's sons. The learned Iskandar Pāshā enjoyed scientific discussions with Lārī, who at last took up residence there and even taught for some years at the Khusraw (Hüsrev) Pāshā *madrasa*.²⁰ Lārī accompanied Iskandar Pāshā in his travel to Baghdad, which happened around 974/1566–67. But then he returned to Āmid and finally died there in 979/1572.²¹

Lārī is known to modern scholarship mainly because of his Persian world history, titled *The Mirror of Periods and the Staircase of the Accounts* (*Mir'āt al-adwār wa-mirqāt al-akhbār*).²² This work, covering events from the creation

18 It is transmitted that while traveling from India, he lost four hundred of his books in a shipwreck. See Ḥasan Bay Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh* 1–3, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawāyī, Tehran: Asāṭīr, 1384/2005, vol. 3, 1481; Sohrweide, "al-Lārī," 682.

19 See Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm Ibn Hanbalī, *Durr al-Ḥubab fī tārikh a'yān Ḥalab*, ed. Maḥmūd Aḥmad al-Fākhūrī and Yaḥyā Zakariyā 'Abbāra, Damascus: Wizārat al-Thaqāfa 1972, 418.

20 On Iskandar Pāshā and his endowments, see Reşid İskenderağlı, *Beğlerbeği Gazi İskender Paşa 1492–1571*, Ankara: San Matbaası, 1989; Mustafa Oflaz, "İskender Paşa Vakıfları," *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 21 (2009), 75–93.

21 See Qummī, *Khulāṣat al-tawārīkh*, vol. 1, 580.

22 Muşliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī wrote this work in Persian, dividing it into ten chapters. Only part of the ninth chapter of this work has been edited. See Muşliḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad Lārī and 'Ārif Nawshāhī (editor), "Mir'āt al-adwār wa-mirqāt al-akhbār: Faṣl-i dar sharḥ-i ḥāl-i buzurgān Khurāsān u Māwarā' al-nahr u Fārs," 91–113. Sayyid Jalil Sāghrawāniyān is currently working on an edition of this work. See Sayyid Jalil Sāghrawāniyān, "Mir'āt al-adwār

until the time of composition, was completed in 974/1566 and dedicated to Sultan Selim I's (r. 974/1566–982/1574) grand vizier, Mehmed Sokollu (d. 987/1579) on the occasion of the Sultan's accession to the throne.²³ In addition to his history, Lārī wrote on a wide variety of subjects, most of which can be closely associated with his education in Shiraz. In the discipline of logic, he wrote a gloss on Dawānī's commentary on *Tahdhīb al-Manṭiq* by Ṣa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī (d. 792/1390).²⁴ The latter commentary by Dawānī received a critical gloss by Lārī's teacher, Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Dashtakī and Lārī is likely to have reflected his teacher's criticisms in his own gloss. He also wrote at least three monographs on logic: (1) a treatise on the liar paradox (*Risāla fī ḥall shubhat jadhr al-aṣam*, otherwise known as *Risāla fī muḡhālaṭa*),²⁵ a subject which was popular among the Shirazi scholars;²⁶ (2) a treatise, titled *The Ultimate Interrogation on the Proposition Is a Negative Assertion* (*Risāla fī nihāyat al-mas'ūl fī taḥqīq sālibat al-maḥmūl*), which was another popular subject among the Shirazi scholars initiated by Dawānī;²⁷ and (3) a treatise on coincidence of two opposites (*Risāla fī ijtīmā' al-naqīḍayn*).²⁸ Lārī also wrote a commentary on 'Aḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī's

wa-mirqāt al-akhbār: Nuskha'ī nāshinākhta," *Āyina-yi pazhūhish*, 95 (1384/2005), 53–5. I would like to thank Ahmad Reza Rahimi Riseh for providing me with images of a copy of this work (MS Riḍawī 4155).

- 23 With some amendments and additions, Sa'd al-Din Ḥasan Muftī Efendi (d. 1008/1599 or 1600) translated this work into Turkish and dedicated it to Sultan Murād III (r. 982/1574–1003/1595).
- 24 MSS Şehid Ali Paşa 1788, Hacı Beşir Ağa 105 (both held in the Süleymaniye Library), Râşid Efendi 1438.
- 25 MS Damad İbrâhim Paşa 791, ff. 92b–96a.
- 26 The liar paradox has been the subject of discussions in Shiraz first by Şadr al-Dīn al-Dashtakī and Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī who dealt with this subject in their respective glosses on Qūshchī's commentary on Ṭūsī's *Tajrīd al-i'tiqād* and ultimately both wrote monographs on it. The paradox continued to be the subject of interest among Şadr al-Dīn al-Dashtakī's students, such as Ghiyath al-Dīn al-Dashtakī, Shams al-Dīn al-Khafri, and Najm al-Dīn al-Nayrizi. Aḥad Farāmarz Qarāmalikī with the collaboration of Ṭayyiba 'Ārif-Niyā edited most of Shirazi's scholars on this subject. See their *Dawāzdah risāla dar pāraduks-i durūghū*, Tehran: Mu'ssisa-yi Pazhūhishī-i Hikmat u Falsafa-yi Irān, 1386/2007. But they seem to have been unaware of Muşlih al-Dīn al-Lārī's monograph on this paradox and the fact that the subject evidently continued to attract the attention of Shirazi scholars in the subsequent generation. On the contributions of the Shirazi scholars to the liar paradox, see also Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 78–81, 84, 87–8.
- 27 MS Damad İbrâhim Paşa 791, ff. 86a–87b. The discussion can be found in Dawānī's *al-Ḥāshiya al-qadīma 'alā sharḥ Tajrīd al-i'tiqād*, MS Staatsbibliothek Berlin HS. Or 5116, ff. 23a–25b.
- 28 MS Damad İbrâhim Paşa 791. f. 96a.

(d. 756/1356) *Ādāb al-baḥṭh*, which strictly speaking belongs to the discipline of rhetoric.²⁹

In the domain of philosophy and theology, he wrote a supergloss on Dawānī's old gloss on Qūshchī's commentary on Ṭūsī's *Tajrīd al-i'tiqād*.³⁰ Dawānī's old gloss was studied at the time together with its critical supergloss written by Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Dashtakī; similar to many other scholars, Lārī might have written his supergloss in order to evaluate between the positions of the two Shirazi philosophers. He also wrote a gloss on Shams al-Dīn al-Bukhārī's (fl. 733/1332) commentary on *Ḥikmat al-ʿayn*.³¹ Lārī might have reflected the views of his teachers in this gloss, as we know that Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Dashtakī and Shams al-Dīn al-Khafīrī both wrote glosses on this commentary.³² Lārī also wrote a gloss on Mīr Ḥusayn Maybudī's (d. 909/1503–4) commentary on Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī's (d. 663/1265) *Hidāyat al-ḥikma*,³³ a gloss on al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī's (d. 816/1413) commentary on ʿAḍud al-Dīn al-Ījī's *al-Mawāqif*,³⁴ and a gloss on Shams al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī's commentary on Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Bayḍāwī's (d. c. 685/1286) *Ṭawālīʿ al-anwār*.³⁵ Moreover, he wrote some individual treatises on the finitude of dimensions (*Risāla fī masʿalat tanāhī al-abʿād*),³⁶ on the question of human will (*Risāla fī baḥṭh al-irāda*),³⁷ and on bodily resurrection (*Risāla fī ithbāt al-maʿād al-jismānī* or *Risāla fī baḥṭh al-ḥaṣhr wa-l-maʿād*).³⁸ In the latter work, Lārī followed his teacher, Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Dashtakī, on the quality of resurrection, holding that the latter occurs with image-bodies and not material ones.³⁹

29 MS Manisa İl Halk 1373.

30 See Rūmlū, *Aḥsan al-Tawārīkh* 1–3, vol. 3, 1481.

31 MS UCLA A427.

32 See Muḥammad Barikat, *Kitāb-shināsī-yi maktab-i falsafī-i Shīrāz*, Shiraz: Bunyād-i Fārs-shināsī, 1383/2004, 157, 192–3.

33 MS Ilāhiyāt 73D (Cat. vol. 1, 227), MS Millī 310 A (Cat. vol. 7, 281).

34 MS Beşir Ağa 396.

35 Ḥājji Khalīfa, *Kashf al-ẓunūn ʿan asāmī al-kutub wa-l-funūn* 1–2, Tehran 1387/1967, vol. 2, 1116.

36 MS Damad İbrāhīm Paşa 791, ff. 83b–86a.

37 MS Esad Efendi 385/6 (held in the Süleymaniye Library).

38 MS Fāḍil-i Khwānsārī 222/10 (Cat. vol. 1, 173); MS Marʿashī 8748/8, ff. 52b–57a (Cat. vol. 22, 286); MS Damad İbrāhīm Paşa 791, ff. 76b–83b.

39 For Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Dashtakī's view on this matter, see his “Ḥujjat al-kalām li-īdāḥ maḥajjat al-Islām,” in *Muṣannafāt-i Ghiyāth al-Dīn Maṣṣūr-i Ḥusaynī-i Dashtakī-i Shīrāzī*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh Nūrānī, Tehran: Danishgāh-i Tihārān & Anjuman-i āthār u mafākhir-i farhangī, 1386/2007, vol. 1, 153–204.

On astronomy, he wrote two commentaries on Qūshchī's writings: the aforementioned commentary on his introductory Persian text on astronomy, *Risāla dar hay'a*,⁴⁰ and a commentary on his *al-Fathīya fī 'ilm al-hay'a* (completed in 970/1562–3).⁴¹ To the best of our knowledge, he was the first commentator of Qūshchī's astronomical works. Lārī seems to have learned this science from Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Dashtakī and Shams al-Dīn al-Khafīrī. But he appears to have had a less critical attitude towards Qūshchī's astronomical innovations than his Shirazi teachers. Beside these two commentaries, he wrote a monograph, titled *Treatise on an Investigation of the Line of Dawn and Twilight* (*Risāla fī tahqīq khaṭṭ al-fajr wa-l-shafaq*),⁴² and a treatise in response to some questions posed to him on the same subject.⁴³

In the area of the *Qur'ān* exegesis, he wrote a gloss on Baydāwī's *Anwār al-tanzīl*,⁴⁴ and *Risāla fī tafsīr Sūrat al-Qadr*,⁴⁵ while on *ḥadīth* he wrote a commentary on Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī's (d. 676/1277) *Arba'un ḥadīth*,⁴⁶ and a commentary on Abū 'Isā al-Tirmidhī's (d. c. 279/892) *Shamāyil al-Muḥammadīya*.⁴⁷ Turning his attention to *fiqh*, he wrote a gloss on Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Shāfi'ī's (d. 204/820) *Anwār al-fiqh*,⁴⁸ while in the domain of the literary sciences he wrote a gloss on Taftāzānī's *Muṭawwal*,⁴⁹ glosses on 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī's (d. 898/1492) commentary on Abū 'Amr Ibn al-Ḥājjib's (d. 646/1249)

40 Being one of the most popular works of Muşliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī, numerous copies of this work are preserved. For the manuscripts of this work in Iranian libraries see Muşṭafā Dirāyatī, *Fihrist-wāra-yi dast-nivishthā-yi Irān 1–12*, Tehran 1389/2010, vol. 6, 1167. For some other copies of this work, its Russian translation and studies of it in Russian, see Boris A. Rosenfeld and Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu, *Mathematicians, Astronomers, and Other Scholars of Islamic Civilizations and Their Works (7th–19th c.)*, Istanbul: Research Center for Islamic History, Art and Culture, 331.

41 MS Carullāh 1504/1 (held in the Süleymaniye Library).

42 MSS Majlis-i Sinā 7572 (Cat. vol. 2, 251), Laleli 2722/1 (held in the Süleymaniye Library).

43 MS Majlis-i Sinā 7572/14.

44 MS Manisa İl Halk 37.

45 MS Veliyyüddin Efendi 3183 (held in the Beyazıt Devlet Library); cf. Rūmlü, *Aḥsan al-Tawāriḫ* 1–3, vol. 3, 1481.

46 This work has been edited: Muhammad Siddique Khalid Alavi, "Al-Lari's Commentary on *Arba'in* of An-Nawawi: A Critical Edition with Introduction," PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1979.

47 MSS Beşir Ağa 121, Şehid Ali Paşa 477 (both held in the Süleymaniye Library).

48 See Rūmlü, *Aḥsan al-Tawāriḫ* 1–3, vol. 3, 1481.

49 MSS Kiliç Ali Paşa 867, Şehid Ali Paşa 2188 (both held in the Süleymaniye Library), Hacı Selim Ağa 1027.

Kāfiya,⁵⁰ and a commentary on al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī's *al-Amthila fī l-ṣarf*, titled *Murshid al-ghinā sharḥ Amthilat al-binā*.⁵¹ He also wrote a commentary on *al-Risāla al-Farīsīya* (attributed to al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī), as well as monographs on other fields like a treatise on veterinary science (in Persian),⁵² a treatise on chess (Persian),⁵³ and finally a treatise on multiple subjects, titled *Samples of the Sciences* (*Unmūdhaj al-'ulūm*).

The *Samples*, which is the main subject of study in the rest of this article, is extant (to the best of our knowledge) in only two manuscripts: (1) MS Damad İbrāhīm Paşa 791 (held in the Süleymaniye Library, containing 96 folios); and (2) MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145 (held in the Millet Library, containing 65 folios). In addition to its importance as a record of his thought, this work is of biographical interest because it furnishes some detailed information about a particular period in Lārī's life. It was composed when Lārī first arrived in Istanbul and he wanted to ingratiate himself with the Ottoman court and particularly with the grand vizier, Rustam Pāshā. *Samples of the Sciences* had at least two precedents in terms of content and title: Muḥammad Shāh Fanārī's (d. 839/1435–6) book by the same title in which he provides an Arabic translation of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's (d. 606/1209) Persian encyclopedic work, *Ḥadā'iq al-anwār fī ḥaqā'iq al-asrār* (also known as *Jāmi' al-'ulūm*), augmented by additional chapters;⁵⁴ and another earlier, and similarly titled, work by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, completed sometime in the last decades of the 9th/15th century. There are good reasons to believe that Lārī used the latter work in particular as the model for his own *Samples of the Sciences*. By means of his *Samples*, Dawānī introduced himself to Sultan Maḥmūd I of Gujarāt (r. 863/1458–917/1511), who subsequently awarded him the sum of one thousand dirhams.⁵⁵ In doing so, Dawānī in the

50 MSS Mehmed Âsım Bey 569 (held in the Köprülü Library), Celâl Ökten 439, Şehid Ali Paşa 2374 (the latter two are held in the Süleymaniye Library).

51 MSS Millet 4328, Yazma Bağışlar 1229 (held in the Süleymaniye Library), Raşid Efendi 11287.

52 See Rümlü, *Aḥsan al-Tawārikh* 1–3, vol. 3, 1481; Qummī, *Khulāṣat al-tawārikh*, vol. 1, 580.

53 See Rümlü, *Aḥsan al-Tawārikh* 1–3, vol. 3, 1481; Qummī, *Khulāṣat al-tawārikh*, vol. 1, 580.

54 Fanārī's work is preserved in MS Hüsrev Paşa 482. On Fanārī's *Unmudhaj al-'ulūm*, see İhsan Fazlıoğlu, "İthaf'tan Enmuzeöe Fetih'ten Önce Osmanlı Ülkesi'nde Matematik Bilimleri," *International Symposium on Molla Fanârî (4–6 December 2009 Bursa)—Proceedings*, eds. Tevfik Yücedoğlu, Orhan S. Koloğlu, U. Murat Kilavuz, Kadir Gömbeyaz, Bursa 2010, 131–139, particularly 136–9; Jamil Ragep, "Astronomy in the Fanārī-Circle: The Critical Background for Qāḍizāde al-Rūmī and the Samarqand School," *International Symposium on Molla Fanârî (4–6 December 2009 Bursa)—Proceedings*, 165–76.

55 Nūr Allāh Shūshtarī, *Majālis al-mu'minīn* 1–2, Tehran 1334/1955, vol. 2, 226; cf. Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 12.

introduction to his *Samples* provides his chains of transmission of knowledge, and then, in order to demonstrate the comprehensiveness of his knowledge, he discusses ten inquiries (*masā'il*) relating to ten different subjects, namely the methodological principles of *ḥadīth* and *fiqh* (*uṣūl al-ḥadīth wa-l-fiqh*), *fiqh* itself, controversial issues (in *fiqh*) (*ba'd al-khilāfiyāt*), theology (*uṣūl al-dīn*), medicine (*ṭibb*), exegesis (*tafsīr*), geometry (*handasa*), astronomy (*hay'a*), logic and arithmetic.⁵⁶ The structure of the work allowed the author to declare his positions on some controversial matters in various disciplines in a concise form. With the exception of the section on theology in which the author conducts a relatively long disputation over the philosophers' view on the origination of the world, other sections of this work are in the form of notes, which would have been hard to present in any other forms of writing. Dawānī with this work appears to have started a *genre* of writing on multiple sciences, which was followed by several scholars during the sixteenth-eighteenth centuries. Apart from Muşlih al-Dīn al-Lārī, Afḍal al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Turka (d. 991/1583), Ḥabīb Allāh al-Bāghnawī, known as Mirzā-Jān (d. 995/1587), Muḥammad al-Rustamdārī (d. after 997/1588), Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad, known as Khalīfa Sulṭān (d. 1064/1653–54), Muḥammad b. Ḥasan al-Shirwānī (d. 1098/1686), Muḥammad Ismā'il al-Khātūnābādī (d. 1116/1704–5) were among those who did so during this period.⁵⁷ Lārī followed the structure of Dawānī's *Samples* more closely than most others, because like Dawānī he wanted to use this work as a means of securing patronage.

In the introduction to this work (MS Damad İbrāhīm Paşa, ff. 1b–3a; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 1b–3a), Lārī provides a broad outline of what he had gone through during years of peregrination. Then he praises Sultan Suleyman in a few words and the vizier Rustam Pāshā at greater length. He even specifies that his intention in writing this work is to draw the attention of the vizier. Following this, he reviews the stages of his own education, in which he details all the fields that he has studied and his chain of transmission of knowledge back to an authority in each.

Starting with *ḥadīth*, Lārī mentions that in early youth (*fī ṣigharī*) he received instruction from his father, Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn 'Abd al-Karīm al-Anṣārī, by reading Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī's (d. 676/1277) *Forty ḥadīth* (*Kitāb al-Arbaʿīn*) and part of Walī al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrizī's (d. 741/1340–1) *Kitāb Mishkāṭ*

56 For the critical edition of this work see Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, *Thalāth rasā'il*, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Tüysirkānī, Mashhad 1411/1991, 264–333.

57 See Muṣṭafā Dirāyatī, *Fihrist-wāra-yi dast-nūwisht-hā-yi Īrān*, Tehran: Kitābkhāna Mūza wa Markaz-i Asnād-i Majlis-i Shawrā-yi Islāmī, 1389/2010, vol. 2, 214–5.

al-maṣābiḥ. Lārī presents his chain of transmission of *ḥadīth* through his father back to Abū al-Makārim ‘Alī b. Mubārakshāh al-Ṣiddīqī [al-Sāwī], known as Khwāja Shaykh.⁵⁸

Another teacher of his father in *ḥadīth* was Sayyid Mu‘īn al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ṣafawī al-Ījī (d. 905/1499–1500), who had studied in turn with his father, Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ṣafawī al-Ījī (d. 864/1450).⁵⁹ Lārī also studied *ḥadīth* with Mukhlis al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī al-Zahīrī, whose chain of transmission of *ḥadīth* went back to al-Imām al-Nawawī:

Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī ← Mukhlis al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Shīrāzī al-Zahīrī
← Mu‘īn al-Dīn Junayd al-Shīrāzī⁶⁰ ← Rukn al-Dīn Rūzbihān al-‘Umri
al-Shīrāzī ← al-Shaykh Majd al-Dīn Abū Ṭahīr [Muḥammad b.] Ya‘qūb
al-Firūzābādī (d. 817/1414) ← [Muḥyī al-Dīn] b. Ḥaddād ← Al-Imām al-
Nawawī.

The second field mentioned is **Shāfi‘ī *fiqh***, for which Lārī presents his chain of transmission extending back to al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī as follows:

Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī ← ‘Aḍud al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Lārī ← Mu‘īn al-
Dīn Junayd al-Shīrāzī ← Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Dānyālī ← al-Bāyazīd
al-Dawānī ← Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Kūshkinārī⁶¹ ← Jamāl
al-Dīn [Maḥmūd b.] Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Sarwistānī⁶² ← Lisān al-Dīn Nūḥ al-

58 Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī ← Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Anṣārī (his father) ← Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Ṣiddīqī ← Sharaf al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Jurahī (d. 828/1424) ← Abū al-Makārim ‘Alī b. Mubārak-Shāh al-Ṣiddīqī, known as Khwāja Shaykh. It seems that Lārī here followed Dawānī in considering Khwāja Shaykh an authority in *ḥadīth*. Compare this with Dawānī’s “Unmudhaj al-‘ulūm” in *Thalāth rasā’il*, 275.

59 Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ṣafawī al-Ījī was named by Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī as one of his teachers in *ḥadīth*. See Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 6. Mu‘īn al-Dīn al-Ṣafawī al-Ījī wrote a commentary on al-Nawawī’s *al-Arba‘īn* (MS Mar‘ashī 12738/8) and a commentary on the *Qur’ān*, titled *Jāmi‘ al-bayān fi tafsīr al-Qur’ān* (completed in 872/1467–8, MS Siph-sālār 1956).

60 This Mu‘īn al-Dīn Junayd al-Shīrāzī must have been active in the late 9th/15th century and hence must be a different person from the better-known Mu‘īn al-Dīn Junayd al-Shīrāzī (d. 791/1389), author of *Shadd al-izār*. On the latter, see the introduction of Umīd Sarwarī to his edition of Junayd ibn Maḥmūd Shīrāzī, Mu‘īn al-Dīn Abū al-Qāsim: *Dīvān-i Junayd-i Shīrāzī*, Tehran: Kitābkāna-yi Majlis-i Shūrā-yi Islāmī 1392/2013.

61 Muḥyī al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Kūshkinārī was named by Dawānī as one of his teachers. See Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 6.

62 Mentioned by Dawānī in his *Unmudhaj al-‘ulūm* (*Thalāth rasā’il*, 275).

Simnānī ← Jalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī (d. 709/1309–10) ← (his father) Najm al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ghaffār al-Qazwīnī (d. 664/1265–6) ← Abū al-Qāsim al-Rāfi‘ī [al-Qazwīnī] (d. 623/1226–7) ← Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā ← Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazālī al-Ṭūsī (d. 505/1111) ← ‘Abd al-Malik al-Juwaynī (d. 478/1085) ← Abū Muḥammad al-Juwaynī (d. c. 437/1239) ← Abū Bakr al-Qaffāl al-Ṣaghīr al-Marwazī (d. 417/1026 or 427/1035) ← Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. Surayj (d. 306/918)⁶³ ← Abū al-Qāsim ‘Uthmān ibn Sa’d al-Anmāṭī ← Ibrāhīm b. Ismā‘īl ibn Yaḥyā al-Maznī ← al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī.⁶⁴

Another teacher of Lārī in Shāfi‘ī *fiqh* was a certain Ikhtiyār al-Dīn al-‘Isā, through whom Lārī connects his chain of transmission of *fiqh* to al-Nawawī.

Muṣliḥ al-Dīn al-Lārī ← Ikhtiyār al-Dīn ‘Isā ← Amīn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Iskandarī ← Qawām al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kamāl al-Anṣārī ← Maḥmūd al-Karsanjī ← Nūr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Malqawī(?) al-Anṣārī ← Hibat Allāh al-Bārizī (d. 738/1338) ← al-Imām al-Nawawī

Turning to Ḥanafī *fiqh*, Lārī names a certain Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad as his teacher. The latter’s chain of transmission of *fiqh* went back to al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānī and through him to Akmal al-Dīn al-Bābartī (d. 786/1384), a commentator on Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī’s (d. 593/1197) *al-Hidāya*. However, being a Shāfi‘ī scholar, training in Ḥanafī *fiqh* might have been brought up by Lārī to gain more credit in the eyes of his Ottoman audience.

The last two disciplines mentioned are *tafsīr* and *‘ulūm ‘aqlīyya*, for which he names his five teachers: 1) Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Lārī (d. after 930/1523), a student of Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī;⁶⁵ 2) another student of Dawānī, Kamāl al-Dīn

63 On Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad ibn Surayj see Aḥmad Pākatchī, “Ibn Surayj, Abū al-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. ‘Umar,” *Dā‘irat al-ma‘ārif-i buzurg-i Islāmī*, ed. Kāzīm Mūsawī Bujnūrdī, Tehran: Markaz-i Dā‘irat al-Ma‘ārif-i Buzurg-i Islāmī, 1374/1995, vol. 3, 675–77.

64 Part of this chain of transmission, from Jamāl al-Dīn [Maḥmūd ibn] Abū al-Faṭḥ al-Sarwistānī going back to Abū al-Qāsim al-Rāfi‘ī al-Qazwīnī, is identical with what Dawānī presents as his father’s chain of transmission of *fiqh*. The chain does not stop with al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī but it goes back to the Prophet. Lārī provides for al-Shāfi‘ī two chains of transmission of *ḥadīth* from the prophet, one of which stresses a Mālikī connection: al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī ← Mālik ibn Anas (d. 179/791) ← Mālik ← Rabī‘a [b. Mālik] ← Anas (d. 93/712) ← Nāfi‘ ← Ibn ‘Umar ← the Prophet. The other one is as follows: al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī ← Sufyān b. ‘Aynīya ← Amr b. Dīnār ← Ibn ‘Umar & Ibn ‘Abbās (d. 67/687) ← the Prophet. See Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, *Thalāth rasā’il*, 275–6. It is likely that Lārī took this information from Dawānī, but expanded it in order to connect it to al-Imām al-Shāfi‘ī.

65 On Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn al-Lārī, see Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 76, no. 15.

‘Abd al-Šamad al-Baghdādī (d. 955/1548–9); 3) a certain Aḥmad al-Māwardī, whose chain of transmission in the rational sciences extended back to Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī: Aḥmad al-Māwardī ← Ḥusayn al-Quhistānī (fl. 870/1465)⁶⁶ ← Muḥammad al-Jājarmī (fl. 830/1426)⁶⁷ ← Sa’d al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī; 4) Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Khafri,⁶⁸ with whom he studied various branches of mathematics; and 5) Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr al-Dashtakī, who is applauded and introduced as a student of his father, “al-Sayyid Šadr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Širāzī” (i.e., Šadr al-Dīn al-Dashtakī).⁶⁹ The fact that he goes at length in his praise of Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Dashtakī might be an indication that the latter played the most significant role in formation of Lārī’s thought. It might also be a reflection of Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Dashtakī’s fame as a distinguished scholar even in the Ottoman lands.

The introduction is followed by twenty-one individual discourses, some of which may well be considered a treatise (*risāla*) on its own and as a matter of fact a number of them have been copied separately as independent works. Lārī raises one or more controversial issue(s) for each discourse and while doing so provides his own position as well. The sequence of the subjects seems to be arbitrary, with the exception of perhaps the first, on *tafsīr*, which might have been given priority because of the sanctity of the *Qur’ān*.

1 On Qur’ān Exegesis

(*Fī l-tafsīr*, MS Damad İbrāhīm Paşa 791, ff. 5a–11a; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 4b–9b): A philosophical discussion on the uniqueness of the Necessary Exis-

66 In his *Mir’āt al-adwār*, Lārī indicates that Quhistānī lived in Herat and that he and ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Jāmī did not get along with each other. See Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad Lārī and ‘Arif Nawshāhī (editor), “Mir’āt al-adwār wa-mirqāt al-akhbār: Faṣḥ dar sharḥ-i ḥāl-i buzurgān-i Khurāsān u Mā-warā’ al-nahr u Fārs,” 98–9.

67 Jājarmī seems to have had a significant role in transmitting Taftāzānī’s teachings. Elsewhere Lārī also names ‘Alā’ al-Dawla ‘Alī al-‘Arān al-Ṭūsī (d. 887/1482) as one of his students. See Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad Lārī and ‘Arif Nawshāhī (editor), “Mir’āt al-adwār wa-mirqāt al-akhbār: Faṣḥ dar sharḥ-i ḥāl-i buzurgān-i Khurāsān u Mā-warā’ al-nahr u Fārs,” 95.

68 On Shams al-Dīn al-Khafri, see Firouzeh Saatchian, *Gottes Wesen—Gottes Wirken. Ontologie und Kosmologie im Denken von Shams-al-Dīn Muhammad al-Hafri (gest. 942/1535)*, Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2011; Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 37–40.

69 On Ghiyāth al-Dīn Manṣūr al-Dashtakī and his father Šadr al-Dīn al-Dashtakī, see Pourjavady, *Philosophy in Early Safavid Iran*, 16–31.

tent based on verse 22 of *Sūrat al-Anbīyā* (*law kāna fīhimā ālihatun illā Allāh lafasadatā*). This discussion was known at the time as the sophistry (*al-shubha*) of Ibn Kammūna (d. 683/1284).⁷⁰ Lārī in this discussion presents Dawānī's position on this matter by quoting extensively from the latter's *al-Risāla fī ithbāt al-wājib al-jadida*.⁷¹ He then criticizes this position using an unnamed writing by Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Dashtakī. References are given to Qūshchī's commentary on Ṭūsī's *Tajrīd al-i'tiqād* and Jurjānī's gloss on Aḡud al-Dīn al-Ījī's commentary on Ibn al-Ḥājjib's abridgement (*Mukhtaṣar*) of his own *Muntahā l-su'āl wa-l-'amal fī 'ilmay al-uṣūl wa-l-jadal*. Moreover, notes on the margins of MS Damad İbrāhīm Paşa 791 (and in one occasion MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145) identify three Ottoman scholars, who were the subjects of Lārī's critique, namely a certain Ḥasan Chelebī, Kamāl Pāshāzāde, and Abū al-Su'ūd Efendi. This treatise seems to be identical with a separate treatise on this verse attributed to Lārī.⁷²

2 On Prophetic Tradition

(*Fī l-ḥadīth*, MS Damad İbrāhīm Paşa, ff. 11a–14a; MS Feyzullah Efendi, ff. 9b–11b), in which the author first narrates a *ḥadīth* of the dispute between Moses and Adam on the issue of free will. It is followed by Lārī's discussion on the reliability and the subject matter of this *ḥadīth*.

3 On Hanafite Jurisprudence

(*Fī l-fiqh 'alā madhhab al-Imām al-a'zam*, MS Damad İbrāhīm Paşa 791, ff. 14a–16a; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 11b–14b), on the cleanness or uncleanness of food left by a donkey.

70 For an overview of this discussion see Reza Pourjavady and Sabine Schmidtke, *A Jewish Philosopher of Baghdad: 'Izz al-Dawla Ibn Kammūna and His Writings*, Leiden: Brill, 2006, 37–51.

71 For the location of Lārī's quotation in *al-Risāla fī ithbāt al-wājib al-jadida*, see Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī and Ismā'īl Khwājū'ī al-Iṣfahānī, *Sab' rasā'il*, ed. Sayyid Aḥmad Tūysirkānī, Tehran: Mirāth-i maktūb 1381/2002, 133–4.

72 MSS Esad Efendi 3790, Hüsrev Paşa 244/2 (held both in the Süleymaniye Library), Veliyyüddin Efendi 3235 (held in the Beyazıt Devlet Library), UCLA D611. In some copies it has been titled as *Risāla fī taqrīr burhān al-tamānu'*.

4 On the Divine Laws of Inheritance

(*Fī l-farā'id*, MS Damad İbrâhim Paşa 791, ff. 16a–16b; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 14b–15a), on the four rights maintained by a dead person before his/her property is passed down, using Sirāj al-Dīn al-Sajāwandī's (d. 560/1164–5) *Risāla fī l-Farā'id*. This treatise might be identical with a separate treatise on this matter attributed to Lārī and is extant in Şehid Ali Paşa 792 (held in the Süleymaniye Library).

5 On the Methodology of Islamic Law

(*Fī uşûl al-fiqh*, MS Damad İbrâhim Paşa 791, ff. 16b–21a; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 15a–19a), on the question of abrogation (*naskh*) and its philosophical ground. The author indicates two of his sources on this matter, namely Taftāzānī's commentary on *Tanqīḥ al-uşûl* by 'Ubayd Allāh b. Mas'ūd al-Maḥ-būbī (*al-Talwīḥ fī sharḥ ḥa'iḳ al-tanqīḥ*)⁷³ and İjī's commentary on Ibn al-Ḥāḡib's abridgement of his own *Muntahā l-su'āl wa-l-'amal fī 'ilmay al-uşûl wa-l-jadal*. Lārī applies an innovative philosophical approach on this matter with the help of the notion of the complete cause (*al-'illa al-tāmma*), arguing that a thing perishes only when its complete cause ceases to exist. This leads him to the conclusion that a thing needs a cause for both existing and perishing.

6 On the Principles of Tradition

(*Fī uşûl al-ḥadīth*, MS Damad İbrâhim Paşa 791, ff. 21a–24a; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 19a–21a), commenting on a discussion by Sharaf al-Dīn al-Ṭayyibī (d. 743/1342–3) in his *al-Khulāṣa* on the variations in the text found in some *ḥadīths*. To this is added a discussion of whether or not the presence of the same tradition in *ḥadīth* collections of both Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (d. 256/870) and Muslim b. al-Hajjāj (d. 261/874) might confirm its authenticity.

73 Şa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ al-Talwīḥ 'alā al-Tawḍīḥ li-matn al-tanqīḥ fī uşûl al-fiqh*, Beirut: Dār al-kutub al-'ilmiya, 1377/1957, vol. 2, 31 ff.

7 On the Science of Reading the Qur'ân

(*Fî 'ilm al-qirā'at*, MS Damad İbrâhim Paşa 791, ff. 24a–25b; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 21a–22a), on the structure and meaning of the phrase of *ta'awwudh* (seeking refuge in God from Satan) before the *basmala*, using an unspecified work by Shams al-Dîn Muḥammad b. al-Jazarî (d. 833/1429).⁷⁴

8 On Sufism and Resolving Some Difficult Matters Raised by Ibn 'Arabî

(*Fî l-taṣawwuf wa-ḥall ba'd min mushkilât al-Shaykh Muḥyî al-Dîn b. al-'Arabî al-Tâ'î al-Andalusî—quddisa sirruhu*, MS Damad İbrâhim Paşa 791, ff. 25b–29b; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 22a–26a), consisting of marginal notes on some discussions of Ibn al-'Arabî's (d. 638/1240) *Fuṣûṣ al-ḥikam* (particularly the *faṣṣ* of Noah and Seth) as well as some more substantial discussions on Ibn 'Arabî's views on sacred authority (*wilāya*) and the oneness of existence (*tawḥîd al-wujūd*). On sacred authority, Lârî approvingly reviews Dawānî's efforts to condone Ibn 'Arabî's occasional preference of his own state as the seal of the *wilāya* to the seal of the prophecy (= the Prophet Muḥammad).⁷⁵ On the oneness of existence, Lârî argues that Ibn 'Arabî's doctrine is different from that of some of his followers whom he refers to as *wujūdîya*, whereas Ibn 'Arabî himself, according to Lârî, observed the transcendence of God in his writings, these people did not do so.

9 On Kalām

(*[Fî] 'ilm al-kalām*, MS Damad İbrâhim Paşa 791, ff. 29b–33b; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 26a–29b), on God as a freely choosing agent (*al-qādir al-mukhtār*) in opposition to causal necessity in Ibn Sīnā's cosmology; Lârî rejects Jurjānî's argument in the latter's commentary on Ījî's *al-Mawāqif* that considering

74 Jazarî wrote several works on *'ilm al-qirā'a*, such as (1) *al-Taysîr*, (2) *Tahbîr al-Taysîr*, (3) *Nashr al-qirā'at al-'ashr*, (4) *Ṭayyibat al-nashr fî l-qirā'at al-'ashr*, (5) *Munjid al-muqrri'n wa-murshid al-tālibîn*. On Ibn al-Jazarî and his works, see M. Ben Cheneb, "Ibn al-Djazarî," *Encyclopaedia of Islam, Second Edition*, eds P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel, W.P. Heinrichs, Leiden: Brill, vol. 3, 753.

75 On Dawānî discussion on the subject, see his *Sharḥ-i Rubā'iyāt falsafî u 'irfānî-i 'allāma-yi Dawānî*, ed. Mahdî Dihbāshî, Tehran: Hirmis, 1387/2008, 81–91, especially 90.

God as a freely choosing agent would accommodate the doctrine of temporal origination of the world. In addition to Jurjānī, references are given to Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111) as well as two unidentified scholars, referred to as *ba'd al-muta'akhhirīn* and *ba'd min ajallat al-fuḍalā*. The latter might refer to Dawānī. This treatise has been copied independently in MS Kastamonu İl Halk 37 Hk 346/4.

10 On Logic, Related to the Discussion of the Complete Set of Shared Properties

(*Fī l-manṭiq al-muta'allaq bi-baḥṡ tamām al-mushtarak*, MS Damad İbrāhīm Paşa 791, ff. 33b–45a; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 29b–40a), on the complete set of shared properties (*tamām al-mushtarak*), between two quiddities. Lārī first quotes from Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī's commentary on Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī's *Maṭālī' al-anwār* the latter's argument that the complete shared set of properties between two quiddities could only be their genus.⁷⁶ He then comments upon this argument, drawing upon Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī's commentary on Najm al-Dīn al-Kātibī's (d. 675/1277) *al-Shamsiyyā*, Jurjānī's gloss on Iṣfahānī's commentary on Ṭūsī's *Tajrīd al-i'tiqād*, Jurjānī's gloss on Ījī's commentary on Ibn Ḥājib's *Mukhtaṣar al-muntahā* and anonymous works by Qūshchī and Dawānī. This treatise might be identical with a separate treatise on this matter attributed to Lārī.⁷⁷

11 A Treatise Related to Metaphysics

(*Risāla muta'allaqa bi-l-'ilm al-ilāhī*, MS Damad İbrāhīm Paşa 791, ff. 45a–51a; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 40a–44b), on God's knowledge of particulars. Lārī at the end of this treatise argues that God has two types of knowledge: concise knowledge (*'ilm ijmālī*) and extensive knowledge (*'ilm tafṣilī*). Whereas the existence of His Concise Knowledge is identical with His Essence, His Extensive Knowledge comes to existence only following the creation of the caused beings.

76 The Quotation is from second part (*bāb*) of the commentary, which is on the universal and particular concepts. See Quṭb al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Sharḥ Maṭālī' al-anwār*, Istanbul 1885, 60–61.

77 MSS Gotha 87/2, Gotha 88/2, Esad Efendi 385/6 (held in the Süleymaniye Library); cf. Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*. Zweite den Supplementbänden angepasste Auflage I–III, Leiden: Brill, 1943–9, vol. II, 554.

12 A Discussion on Motion, Related to Natural Philosophy

(*Baḥṭh al-ḥaraka al-mutaʿallaqa bi-l-ʿilm al-ṭabīʿī*, MS Damad İbrâhîm Paşa 791, ff. 50b–54b; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 44b–48b), on the subject of motion, Lârî explains that Aristotle's definition has been roundly criticized [by Avicenna] for two reasons: (1) circularity; since the notion of process has been used within the definition, and (2) as not applicable to the motion of the orbs, since the orbs' motion does not have beginning or end, which are supposed to be crucial in the definition of motion. Lârî responds to these criticisms. He also criticized Dawānî's position, based on the latter's discussion is his first gloss (*al-ḥāshiya al-qadîma*) on Qūshchî's commentary on *Tajrîd al-ʿitiqād*.⁷⁸ Lârî also presents the positions of Jurjānî and Qūshchî on this matter. An independent copy of this section is extant in MS Manisa HK 1481 (ff. 1b–6b).⁷⁹

13 An Inquiry Related to Astronomy

(*Masʿala mutaʿallaqa bi-ʿilm al-hayʿa*, MS Damad İbrâhîm Paşa 791, ff. 54b–57a; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 48b–50b), in this chapter the author deals with inclination of the ecliptic and various discussions related to it including accession and recession (*iqbāl wa-idbār*). This subject has been discussed by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (d. 710/1311) in his *al-Tuḥfa al-shāhiya*. Although Lârî himself does not refer to his main source, his discussion on this subject corresponds with that of Shīrāzī.⁸⁰ The sources that he explicitly refers to are Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī's [*al-Tadhkira fī l-hayʿa*] and the commentary on this work by al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Jurjānî.

78 See Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, *al-Ḥāshiya al-qadîma ʿalā sharḥ Tajrîd al-ʿitiqād*, MS Or 5116 (Staatsbibliothek Berlin), ff. 25b–27a.

79 MS Nâfiz Paşa 1220 (held in the Süleymaniye Library) is also likely to contain another copy of this treatise; Carl Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, vol. II, 554.

80 See Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, *al-Tuḥfa al-shāhiya*, MS Carullah 2060 (held in the Süleymaniye library), Chapter Seven, Section One, ff. 32a–35a. I am grateful to Sajjad Nikfahm Khubra van for indicating Shīrāzī's *al-Tuḥfa al-shāhiya* as Lârî's main source in this section.

14 An Inquiry into Geometry

(*Mas'ala min al-handasa*, MS Damad Ībrāhim Paşa 791, f. 57b; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, f. 49b), on the horn angle.

15 An Inquiry into Arithmetic

(*Mas'ala min arithmaṭiqī*, MS Damad Ībrāhim Paşa 791, ff. 57b–58a; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 49b–51b), on the theory of numbers and the way the perfect (*tām*) and amicable (*mutaḥābba*) numbers are obtained.

16 A Subject Related to the Science of Music

(*Fī mā yata'allaqu bi-ilm al-musīqī*, MS Damad Ībrāhim Paşa 791, ff. 58a–60a; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 51b–53a), on tones (*naghamāt*) and intervals (*ab'ād*).

17 On Practical Philosophy

(*Fī l-ḥikma al-ʿamalīya*, MS Damad Ībrāhim Paşa 791, ff. 60a–61a; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 53a–54a), on the definition of practical philosophy and various kinds of virtues (*faḍā'il*); Lārī explains how practical philosophy can be accepted as part of *ḥikma*, although *ḥikma* is also one of the virtues discussed in this treatment. His own contributions are a few comments on Dawānī's discussion on the subject in his *Lawāmī' al-ishrāq fī makārim al-akhlāq* (known as *Akhlāq-i Jalālī*).⁸¹

81 See Jalāl al-Dīn al-Dawānī, *Akhlāq-i Jalālī*, ed. 'Abd Allāh Mas'ūdi Ārānī, Tehran: Intishārāt iṭṭilā'āt, 1391/2012, 79–80. It is notable that Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Dashtakī, in his *Akhlāq-i Manṣūrī*, quoted the entire explanation of Dawānī, adding that this is an extensive and yet useless discussion. See Amīr Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Dashtakī, *Akhlāq-i Manṣūrī*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad Pushtdār, Tehran: Amīr Kabīr, 1386/2007, 229–31.

18 On Optics

(*Fī ‘ilm al-manāẓir*, MS Damad İbrâhim Paşa 791, f. 61a; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, f. 54a), a short critical comment on Euclid’s view on the subject in his *Kitāb al-manāẓir*.

19 On the Science of Mirrors

(*[Fī] ‘ilm al-marāyā*, MS Damad İbrâhim Paşa 791, ff. 61a–62b; FE, 54a–55a), elaborating on the discussion in Jurjānī’s commentary on Ījī’s *al-Mawāqif* regarding the mirror in the shape of a cylinder with a semicircle as a base.

20 On Medicine

(*Fī l-ṭibb*) (MS Damad İbrâhim Paşa 791, ff. 62b–64b; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 55a–56b), on the meaning of a balanced (*mu’tadil*) drug, recommended to be prescribed; this treatise consists of Lārī’s glosses on the relevant discussion in Ibn Sīnā’s (d. 428/1037) *al-Qānūn*.

21 On the Science of Semantics

(*Fī ‘ilm al-ma’ānī*, MS Damad İbrâhim Paşa 791, ff. 64b–75a; MS Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 56b–65b), on the priority of “*al-musnad ilayh*”; Lārī presents the views of many scholars on this matter and comments on each.



While Lārī tries to show the breadth of his learning in this work, his actual discussions reveal that his main scholarly interest lay in the fields of rational sciences, to which most of the twenty-one treatises are related. Besides using Dawānī’s *Unmūdhaj al-‘ulūm* as a model for his own composition, there are indications to believe that he was stimulated and sometimes challenged by reading Dawānī’s works. In his treatise on *tafsīr*, where the discussion tends towards a philosophical investigation of God’s unity, he introduces the view of Dawānī, basing himself on the latter’s *al-Risāla al-jadīda fī ithbāt al-wājib*.⁸² In

82 MS Damad İbrâhim Paşa, f. 7a.

his treatment of *taṣawwuf*, he refers to Dawānī's criticism of Ibn 'Arabī on the issue of sacred authority (*wilāya*), relying on Dawānī's commentary on his own *Rubā'iyāt*.⁸³ In dealing with natural philosophy and in particular the subjects of motion and its definition, Lārī again mentions Dawānī by name and explains his view, based on Dawānī's old gloss on Qūshchī's commentary on *Tajrīd al-i'tiqād*. As a final example we see how, in dealing with practical philosophy, he reviews Dawānī's position in *Lawāmi' al-ishrāq fī makārim al-akhlāq (Akhlāq-i Jalālī)*.⁸⁴ This extensive use of Dawānī's writings shows how significant they were in the eyes of Shiraz-educated scholars. At times, however, Lārī expresses his disapproval of Dawānī's positions and in one occasion he explicitly supports Ghiyāth al-Dīn al-Dashtakī's counter-argument.⁸⁵ The fact that Lārī drew upon the views of his contemporary Ottoman scholars, namely Ḥasan Pāshā, Kamāl Pāshāzāde and Abū al-Su'ūd Efendī, also deserves special attention. This might be an indication that prior to authorship of this work, Lārī had stayed in Istanbul long enough to have been able to study the philosophical contributions of the Ottoman scholars.

The significance of this work lies in the fact that it demonstrates Lārī's positions on various scientific fields. However, we do not know if Lārī was intellectually engaged at the same intensity with all the inquiries that he discussed in this work. Bearing in mind that this work is written as a plea for patronage, it is not unlikely that some parts of it have been written mostly to serve this purpose of the author. It is, for instance, unclear if the author deeply engaged with the inquiry on ethics, as the subject of his discussion appears to be peripheral. Having said that, a core part seems to exist in this work, which is based on genuine intellectual engagement of the author. This core part may include some (if not all) of the sections which found independent lives aside the text, namely sections on Qur'ān exegesis, the divine Laws of inheritance, kalām, logic, and natural philosophy. It is notable that we cannot determine at this stage whether these aforementioned sections were extracted from the work later or whether they were written independently by the author previously and then incorporated into the *Samples*.

The fact that only two complete copies of *Samples of the Sciences* have so far been found and a few copies of some of its sections (appearing independently) indicates that this work was not a popular text. Lārī's two scientific works which received immense scholarly attentions are (1) his commentary on 'Alā' al-Dīn

83 MS Damad İbrāhīm Paşa, f. 27b.

84 MS Damad İbrāhīm Paşa, f. 59b.

85 That is on Dawānī's argument for oneness of God in the first section of the work.

al-Qūshchī's *Risāla dar hay'a* and (2) his gloss on Mīr Ḥusayn al-Maybudī's commentary on Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī's *Hidāyat al-ḥikma*. The latter, composed by Lārī later in his career,⁸⁶ became a textbook on natural philosophy in the Ottoman lands throughout the following centuries as evidenced by the dozens of copies of this work produced in Istanbul and some other Ottoman intellectual centers in the 17th and the 18th centuries. Yet the remarkable reception of this work does not seem to have been immediate. The first known glossator of it is Ḥusayn al-Khalkhālī (fl. 1013/1604),⁸⁷ who was likewise an Iranian Sunnī scholar who had enjoyed the patronage of the vizier of Ottoman Sultān Mehmed III (r. 1003/1595–1012/1603), Ḥasan Pasha (d. 1012/1603)⁸⁸ a few decades after Lārī's death. Khalkhālī appears to have been teaching Lārī's gloss on *Hidāyat al-ḥikma*⁸⁹ and in so doing played a significant role in popularizing Lārī's thought. Towards the end of the eleventh/seventeenth and early twelfth/eighteenth centuries numerous scholars wrote super glosses on this work. The most notable among them are Zayn al-ʿĀbidīn Gūrānizāde (dedicated to Sultan Mehmed IV [r. 1058/1648–1098/1687]),⁹⁰ Karabāsh Nithārī (1097/1686),⁹¹ Mūnajjimbāshī Ahmed Dede (d. 1113/1701),⁹² Kara Khalīl Tīrevī

86 In the introduction to his gloss, Lārī states that long time ago, even before his migration, he wrote a gloss on this commentary, by which he must be referring to his gloss on the discussion of motion of this commentary and recently he had been expanding it to cover the whole commentary. See MS Manisa HK 7807, ff. 1b–2a.

87 MS Laleli 2498 (held in the Süleymaniye Library). On Khalkhālī, see Yahrā Shafāʿī, "Khalkhālī, Ḥusayn b. Ḥasan-i Ḥusaynī," *Dānishnāmazi jahān-i Islām*, ed. Ghulām ʿAlī Ḥaddād ʿĀdil, Tehran: Bunyād-i Dāʾirat al-maʾārif-i Islāmī, vol. 15, 1390/2012, 831–2; B.A. Rosenfeld and Ekmeleddin Ihsanoğlu, *Mathematicians, Astronomers, and Other Scholars of Islamic Civilization and Their Works (7th–19th c.)*. Istanbul: IRCICA, 2003, 351.

88 Khalkhālī dedicated his *Risāla fī ithbāt al-wājib* to Ḥasan Pāshā. See Muḥammad Taqī Dānishpazhūh's description of a copy of this work in MS 312 (ff. 154b–178b), *Fihrist-i kitābkhāna-yi iḥdāyī-i Sayyid Muḥammad-i Mishkāt bi-Kitābkhāna-yi Dānishgāh-i Tihirān*, vol. 3 I, Tehran: Intishārāt-i Dānishgāh-i Tihirān, 1332/1953, 129–31. On Ḥasan Pasha see Orhan F. Köprülü, "Ḥasan Paşa, Yemişçi," *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 16, Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslām Araştırmaları Merkezi, 1997, 342–3.

89 MS Marʾashī 8744, ff. 27b–66b contains a copy of Lārī's gloss on Mīr Ḥusayn al-Maybudī's commentary on Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī's *Hidāyat al-ḥikma*, copied in 1000/1591–2 by ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Barkashādī under the supervision of his teacher, Ḥusayn al-Khalkhālī. See Sayyid Maḥmūd Marʾashī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭi-i Kitābkhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-i Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUḍmā Marʾashī-i Najafī*, vol. 22, Qum: Kitābkhāna-yi ʿUmūmī-i Ḥaḍrat-i Āyat Allāh al-ʿUḍmā Marʾashī-i Najafī 1373/1994, 274–6.

90 MS Atif Efendi 1573/1.

91 MS Mehmed Asım Bey 272 (held in the Köprülü Library).

92 MS Ali Emiri FE 2154/2 (held in the Millat Library).

(1123/1711),⁹³ Ḥaydar Ḥüsaynābādī (1129/1716),⁹⁴ Efendīzāde Yūsuf Amāsī (d. 1167/1754),⁹⁵ Mehmed Kefevī (1175/1761–2),⁹⁶ and Ismāʿīl Gelenbevī (1205/1791).⁹⁷

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- 93 Muşliḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Lārī and Qara Khalīl al-Buyābādī, *al-Ḥāshiya al-musammāh bil-Lārī ‘alā Qāḍī Mīr ‘alā l-Hidāya min al-ḥikmah; ma’a l-taḥshīya fī hāmishihā li-Qara Khalīl*, [Istanbul]: Dār al-Ṭibā’a l-Āmira, 1271 [/1855].
- 94 MS Mehmed Asım Bey 267 (held in the Köprülü Library).
- 95 MS Giresum İl Halk 3542 (held in the Süleymaniye Library).
- 96 Muḥammad b. Ḥumayd Kaffawī, *Ḥāshiyat al-Kaffawī ‘alā l-Lārī*, [Istanbul]: Maṭba‘at al-Sharika al-Şihāfiya al-‘Uthmāniya, 1309 [/1891].
- 97 Ismāʿīl b. Muşṭafā Kalanbawī, *Ḥāshiya ‘alā Ḥāshiyat al-Lārī ‘alā Sharḥ Hidāyat al-ḥikma*, [Istanbul]: Dār al-Ṭibā’a l-Āmira, 1270 [/1854]. For the popularity of this work among later Ottoman Scholars, see Khaled El-Rouayheb, The Myth of “The Triumph of Fanaticism” in the Seventeenth-Century Ottoman Empire, *Die Welt des Islams* 48 (2008), 196–221. El-Rouayheb provides some evidence that this super gloss was taught not only in Istanbul, but also in a relatively small city of Mosul. Ibid, 215.

Appendix 1: Muşlih al-Din al-Lārī's Introduction to His Samples of the Sciences

The following edition is based on MSS Damad İbrāhīm Paşa (ff. 1b–3a) and Feyzullah Efendi 2145 (ff. 1b–3a).

الحمد لمنعمٍ إيجاد نوع الإنسان أنموذجٌ من خزائن إحسانه، وكتاب الكون رسالات في بيان بَرّه
وامتنانه، تفسير ما في ضمير كل متكلم خبير ينبغي أن يكون حديث حمده وثنائه، وتقرير كل ناطق
لائق بأن يكون لشرح أصول نعائه، فقه أحكامه موجب لرفع الدرجات، وقراءة كلامه سبب
لتضائف الحسنات، لا يتبين نطق منطق شكر أدنى شيء من كرمه، ولا يفي كلام متكلم بحمد
قليل من نعمه، المشاءون في ميدان معرفته راحلون، والإشراقيون عن اكتناه حقيقته ذاهلون. ما
وصل فكر الإلهيين بحريم سرادقات جلاله، وما بلغ ذهن الطبيعيين إلى حقيقة آثاره وأفعاله، روح
العارف في مسالك مشاهداته عطشان، وقلب المكاشف في مجالي ذاته هائم وحران، والصلاة
على محمد الذي لا اعتبار للقول والفعل إلا بأن يتزن بميزانه، ولا اعتماد على الاعتقاد إلا بمطابقة
حال معاني بيانه، وعلى آله وأصحابه المتأدبين بآدابه، الصارفين عنان عزيمتهم إلى متابعة سنته،
والمجتهدين في تحقيق الدين وتشريح بنيته وعلى تابعيهم وأتباعهم ألباء أولى النفوس الإنسانية،
وأطباء الأمراض النفسانية.

وبعد، يقول الفقير إلى الله الباري، محمد المدعو بمصلح الدين اللاري الأنصاري، حمد حاله وأصلح
باله، أنه لا يخفى على أولى النهى شرف العلم ونفاسة آثاره، وتنويره ألواح الأرواح بسواطع أنواره،
وأن الخالي عنه أدل من حجر بَقاع، والحالي به عزيز في البلاد والبقاع. وإني بعد ما أتعبت القرينة
دهراً في تحصيله، وصرفت الطبيعة عمراً في تكميله، وفزت بتحقيق أقسامه، والاستسعاد بإتقانه
وأحكامه، وتسويد الأوراق برقوم التحقيق، وترقيم الصفائح بنقوش التدقيق، كنت مستوحشاً
لفساد الزمان، وطغيان طوفان العدوان، في مكان كان تحصيلي فيه سيما على العلم وأهله،
وأحاطة ظلمة الظلمة بخبره وسهله، فرغبت في الاغتراب، واستعذبت السفر الذي هو قطعة
من العذاب. ثم بعد ذلك الدهر سقاني برهة بستان الإكرام، ثم امتحني بالعظام، ثم انتهى الأمر
إلى أن بسط طائر بالي جناحه في هواء البطحاء، فبعد قطع المقاساة شدائد الفيقاء، والنجاة
من مشاق البيداء، وصلت إلى حريم ساحة الآمال، وفزت بالحلول في خير المحال، فظهر على
جبال الكعبة من سواد السربال، كظهور الصبح من جيب الليال، وأحاطني الفيوضات بالعدو
والأصال، وأقمت مدة بحريمه مجرى سوابق الأعمال، وتشرفت بروضة المجد وجنة الأفضال، حديقة

5 ذاهلون: -، ف. 6 وما بلغ: وبلغ، د. 7 عطشان: عطشانه، ف. 8 ميزانه: عزانه، ف. 9 الصارفين: الصار في، ف. 13 ألواح: الراح، ف. 14 أتعبت: اتعت، ف. 19 بستان: بلبان، د. 19 :العظام: بالفظام، د.

كان موضع القدس وموقع الإجلال، ولا يوجد فيها من نزول الملك لوضع الرجل مجال، ووجدت
 25 ألف قيس وكثير فيها غافلين عن النصاح فارغين عن الغدال، فرأيت مشهداً فيه وجود الزوار
 من تجليّه في الزلزال، فدخلت كالنجوم تحت الشعاع فشرعت أجزائي في الاضمحلال، ثم بدون
 قوة النطق وآلة السمع مضى كثير من الجواب والسؤال، والحمد لله الكبير المتعال، فسمعت من
 بركات تلك الأحوال، بحريم جلال فيه محطّ رجال الرجال، بلدة بل عالم أساسه طلسم العلم
 والكمال، ملو من الحلم والجود والفضل والإفضال، مورك فيه أشجار البحث والجدال، محضر
 30 فيه أغصان القيل والقال، مجالسه معطرة بأزهار الشرائع وبيان الحرام والحلال، مدارسه متألّفة
 بنجوم الإفاضة والإفادة والاستفاضة والاستكمال، صوامعه مملوّة من الأوتاد والأبدال، الذين
 يرون الأكوان كالأظلال، ويشاهدون الكثرة من الوحدة كشهود الدائرة من القبس الجوال، بل
 أهل أسواقه أمثال الشاعر والكاتب والمنجم والرمال، وسلطانه نضرة الله **سليمان** ضرب من السماء
 سرادقات الجلال، وبسط في بسيط الأرض بالطول والعرض بساط الإفضال، وتساوى لإنصافه
 35 الأعظم والأرذل، وفيه حريم نصير لوزير ما له نظير في الشئان والحصل، محبوب في القلوب
 ممدوح بالألسن محمود الحاصل، يرحى الرواحل إلى حرمة ويحطّ الأرحال، ويرجى الرغائب من
 كرمه والفوز بالآمال، أعني حضرة الوزير الأعظم ملجأ المهوفين في العالم، ملاذ المضطرين من بني
 آدم، كهف الضعفاء والمساكين، عون العلماء وأساطين الدين، ناصر شريعة سيد المرسلين، باني
 مباني الرأفة والامتنان، مشيد أركان الشريعة والإيمان، رافع أودية العدل والانصاف، قانع ببيان
 40 الجور والاعتساف، قانع أسنة الظلم بهيئته، دافع أعتة الشرّ بقوته، ناظم أمور الدين والدول
 بالرأي السديد، والجاعل بين الملك والخلل بسيفه سدّاً من الحديد، الذي لو أبصره آصف أنصف
 واعترف بأنه ما اهتدى إلى ما هو حقّ ضبط ملك سليمان، ولو أراه أرسطاطاليس لتعلم منه
 قوانين ضبط ملك ذي القرنين ويونان، مراسم نعمه مقياس أمر الجود، ومواهب كرمه معيار نقد
 الوجود، يستصوب دبير الفلك من تديره الصائب، ويستظهر الأيام بجناحه عن المصائب، مدائح
 45 ذاته مطمح الأذكار، ومحامد ذكره معتضد الأفكار، إنبسط ظلّ بذله بحيث لا يصل الشمس إلى
 طرفه، واشتهر صيت عدله بحيث يلتجى الدهر إلى كنفه، حريم حرمة مطاف طواف الآفاق،
 وبابه الفيض محل اقتسام الأرزاق، يده عرّاصة فلزم السخاء، وينتشر منه غرر درر العطاء،
 المختص بفضل الله الذي يختص برحمته من يشاء، المعبر اسمه الشريف بالسنة الأنام **برستم پاشا**،
 مدّ الله تعالى ظلال معدلته على رؤس الإنام، وأبد سجال مرحمته إلى يوم القيام، فوصل إلى
 50 روعي وجسمي من ذلك الخبر الصحيح، أثر يترتب على ريح يوسف لو انضمّ مع نفخ المسيح،
 فعزمت إلى التوجه إلى عتبته، والالتجاء بسدته، وبناء على ضيق الوقت ما قدرت على تبسيط

25 غافلين عن النصاح: غافلي عن النصائح، ف. 28 الرجال: الرجل، ف. 29 محضر: مضر، ف.

32 الدائرة: الزائرة، ف. 42 أراد: راه، ف. 44 المصائب: الحصائب، ف. 46 الآفاق: الأمان، ف.

47 قسّام: إقسام، ف.

المؤلفات المبسطة وترتيبها باسمها الشريف، فأخترت أنموذجاً مشتملاً على أبحاث نفيسة من كل علم بالتصنيف، مزيناً بألقابه، وتوجهت إلى مآبه، علماً مني بأن أنفس الهدايا عند العظماء من جانب العلماء التأليفات المزيّنة بأسامهم، والتصنيفات الموشحة بلبق سامهم، حتى تبقي على مرور الدهور بيان أوصافهم، ويحصل للآخرين العثور على ألقابهم، يبقى ذكرهم في السنة الزاكرين، ويحصل لهم لسان صدق في الآخرين، وإن شاء الله أهملني الأيام في تببيض المؤلفات الأخرى، وترتيبها باسمه الأليق الأخرى، وأرجو من الله أن يقع موقع القبول، فإنه تعالى معطي كل مسئّل، ومحصل كل مأمول.

وأقدم أولاً ذكر بعض مشايخي الذين أخذت العلم منهم استنزاً للرحمة إذ عند ذكر الصالحين تنزل الرحمة ورجاء شمول بركته لأيام حضرة الوزير إن شاء الله العلي الكبير.

فأما الحديث، فإني أخذت من مشايخ عديدة. الأول أبي ومولاني مولانا صلاح الدين عبد الكريم الأنصاري. فإني قرأت عليه في صغري كتاب الأربعين للإمام النووي وبعضاً من المشكاة، وهو قرأ الحديث على الشيخ الرجل العالم نور الدين محمد الصديقي وهو على الشيخ العالم الرباني والعارف الصمداني مولانا شرف الدين عبد الرحيم الجرهري، وهو على الشيخ العلامة ناقد الأحاديث النبوية وناشر الشريعة المصطفوية إمام الدين أبي المكارم علي بن مبارك شاه الصديقي المشهور بخواجه شيخ. وقرأ أيضاً على السيد العالم الرباني السيد معين الدين محمد الصفوي الإيجي، وهو على أبيه صفوة الإنام مقتدي أهل الإسلام السيد صفي الدين عبد الرحمن الإيجي، وسمع في صغره حديث قاضي الجن مشافهة وحدثني به. ومنهم الشيخ العالم المحدث الأورع الأتقي، علم الهدى وعالم النقي، الشيخ مخلص الدين محمد الشيرازي الظهيري، فإني قرأت عليه شمائل الترمذي ومشكاة المصابيح من أوله إلى آخره قراءة بحث وتدقيق، وسمعت منه صحيح البخاري مراراً، وهو قرأ على شيخ معين الدين جنيد الشيرازي، وهو قرأ على الشيخ ركن الدين روزبهان العمري الشيرازي، وهو قرأ الحديث على الشيخ مجد الدين أبوطاهر [محمد بن] يعقوب الفيروزآبادي، صاحب القاموس، وهو قرأ على مشايخ عديدة منهم ابن الحداد، وهو قرأ على الإمام النووي.

وقرأت الفقه على مفتي زمانه عضد الدين عبد الرحمن اللاري، وهو قرأ على الشيخ العلامة معين الدين جنيد الشيرازي، وقرأت شيئاً من الفقه وعلوم العربية على الشيخ العالم الفقيه الأورع جلال الدين محمد بن جلال الدين الدانيالي، وهو تفقه على وحيد عصره في التقوى وفريد دهره فيما يتعلق بالفتوى إمام الملة والدين البازيد الدواني، وهما أخذ الفقه من مشايخ عديدة منهم الشيخ الولي

53 مآبه: بابه، ف. 54 الموشحة. الموشحة، ف. 56 أهملني: أهمل، ف. 57 الأليق: الألهن، ف. 59 الصالحين: الصالح، ف. 62 في: من، ف. 64 ناقد: نافر، ف. 66 الصفوي: الصفري، ف. 67 صغره: صغري، ف. 72 مجد: محي، د ف. 72 قرأ: -، ف. 77 بالفتوى: في الفتوى، ف. 77 البازيد: إلى يزيد، ف.

محي الدين محمد الأنصاري الكوشكناري، وهو تفقه على المولى جمال الدين [محمود بن] أبي الفتح السروستاني، وهو على المولى النبيه ومن هو في عهده أفقه كلّ فقيه لسان الدين نوح السمناني، وهو على الشيخ جلال الدين محمد القزويني، ابن صاحب الحاوي، وهو قرأ على أبيه نجم الدين عبد الغفار القزويني، وهو تفقه على الإمام ابوالقاسم الرافعي، وهو أخذ الفقه عن إمام الدنيا محمد بن يحيى، وهو أخذ الفقه عن الإمام حجة الإسلام محمد بن محمد الغزالي الطوسي، وهو أخذ الفقه عن إمام الحرمين عبد الملك الجويني، وهو عن والده الشيخ أبي محمد الجويني، وهو عن أبي بكر الفقال الصغير المروزي، وهو عن أبي العباس أحمد بن سريج، وهو عن أبي القاسم عثمان بن سعد الأنطاقي، وهو عن إبراهيم بن إسماعيل بن يحيى المزني، وهو عن الإمام الشافعي، وهو عن جماعات منهم الإمام المالك بن أنس، وأخذ مالك عن ربيعة، وربيعة عن أنس ونافع عن ابن عمر، وهما عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم. وأخذ الشافعي أيضاً عن سفيان بن عيينة، وسفيان عن عمرو بن دينار، وهو عن ابن عمر وابن عباس، وهما عن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم. وقرأت أيضاً بعضاً من كتب الفقه على ابن عمي المولى اختيار الدين عيسى، وهو أخذ الفقه عن المولى الأولي أمين الدين عبد الرحمن الإسكندري، وهو عن أبي المولى السعيد قوام الدين محمد بن كمال الأنصاري، وهو أخذ الفقه عن الشيخ الأعلام الأفقه الأورع محمود الكرشنجي، وهو تفقه على جدّي الأعلى نور الملة والدين محمد الملقوي الأنصاري، وهو تفقه على هبة الله البارزي وهو من تلامذة الإمام النووي كما ذكرت.

وأما الفقه الحنفية فقرأت الهداية على الفقيه عصره مولانا فخر الدين محمد الساكن بقرية درد وهي قرية الحنفية من لواحق بلدة لار، وسنده يتصل إلى صاحب الهداية قدس سره من جانب السيد العلامة الشريف الجرجاني، صاحب التصنيفات الفائقة والتأليفات الرائقة، وهو قرأ على المولى الفاضل الكامل قدوة العلماء والأفاضل أكمل الدين شارح الهداية.

وأما التفسير والأصول والعلوم العقلية فأخذتها من جماعات من العلماء العظماء، منهم المولى كمال الدين حسين اللازي والمولى كمال الدين عبد الصمد البغدادي، وهما من تلامذة البحر المحقق والخبر المدقق، أستاذ العلماء ومكمل الفضلاء جلال الملة والدين محمد الدواني، وهو قرأ على المولى الأعلام محيي الدين محمد الكوشكناري، وهو على السيد الكامل المشهور في الآفاق بحسن التصنيف وجودة التأليف المذكور في السنة الإنام بلقبه الشريف على الجرجاني. ومنهم المحقق الكامل أحمد الماوردي، وهو أخذ من قدوة المحققين المولى شيخ حسين القهستاني، وهو على المدقق محمد الجاجري، وهو على أستاذ المحققين سعد الملة والدين الفتازاني. ومنهم أفضل المتأخرين وأكمل

81 الرافعي: الرافع، ف. 84 الصغير: الصغر، ف. 84 سعد:-، ف. 85 عن: غير، ف. 88 ها: هو، ف. 89 عمي: عمر، ف. 90 عن: + عم، ف. 91 الأعلام:-، ف. 91 الكرشنجي: الكرشميجي، د.

- 105 المتبحرين علم التحقيق وعالم التدقيق المولى **شمس الملة والدين محمد الخفري**، فقرأت عليه تفسير القاضي البيضاوي وكثيراً من الكلام والرياضيات أصولها وفروعها. ومنهم من جعلت نقود علمي مسكوكاً بسكة اعتنائه، وابررت إبريزي رائجاً في سوق الاعتبار بمحكمة ارتضائه، سيد المحققين، وسند المدققين، ذو النسب الطاهر، والشأن الباهر، البحر الزاخر من العلم الظاهر، أستاذ البشر، والعقل الحادي عشر، ومكمل أهل النظر، **السيد غياث الدين منصور**، وهو أخذ من سيد علماء زمانه وسند فضلاء أوانه، **السيد صدر الملة والدين محمد الشيرازي**، وينتهي طريقه 110 إلى العلامة المحقق **عضد الملة** صاحب المواقف، وسوى المذكورين لي مشايخ لكلّ منهم فن من الفنون، ولهم مقام معلوم في علم من العلوم، وذكر أساميهم على التفصيل يتجزأ إلى غاية التطويل، فاقصرت على ما ذكرت استجلاباً لبركاتهم كما اشرت.

106 الرياضيات: الرضايات، ف. 107 مسكوكاً: مسكوكاً، ف. 107 محكمة: محك، ف. 108 الزاخر: + في، ف. 110 صدر: -، ف. 111 لي: إلى، ف.

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- . *Sharḥ-i Risâla dar hay'a*, ms Râgip 926, ff. 1b–62a.
- . *Risâla Fî mas'alat tanâhî al-ab'âd*, ms Damad İbrâhîm Paşa 791, ff. 83b–86a.
- . *Risâla Fî nihâyat al-mas'ûl fî taḥqîq sâlibat al-maḥmûl*, ms Damad İbrâhîm Paşa 791, ff. 86a–87b.
- . *Unmüdḥaj al-'ulûm*, ms Damad İbrâhîm Paşa 791, ff. 1b–75a.
- . *Unmüdḥaj al-'ulûm*, ms Feyzullah Efendi 2145, ff. 1b–65b.
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